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The fourth point of attack of Father Fonck was on the historical accuracy of the charges against Pope Clement VI. With the utmost detail and with careful references to the sources of his information Wahrmund shows that Clement VI was a worldly, pomp-loving lord; "of courtly distinction and with noble passions." J. Haller<sup>22</sup> describes him as an elegant prelate of noble family, a man of the world with the faults of his class, namely, extravagance, love of pleasure, and lax morality, etc. In short, his exactions, under different pretexts, present a picture of the rankest immorality and injustice. The charges and the authorities cited in support of them establish Professor Wahrmund's contention without the possibility of refutation.

There are only two methods open to Professor Wahrmund's opponents to lessen or destroy the effect of his powerful indictment. Either they must deny the authoritative character of the works which he cites, or they must challenge his correct translation of the texts.

Both courses are beset by the gravest difficulties.

PERSIFOR FRAZER

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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### RECENT PROGRESS IN THE STUDY OF LUTHER

The last six years have added a vast deal to our knowledge of Martin Luther. In 1903 Kawerau's revision of Köstlin's *Life of Luther* gave us a biography more accurate and fuller than anything preceding, and in the same year a new source of the greatest value was published, the just-discovered collection of table-talk compiled by Mathesius. Since then other new sources have come to light, sources previously known have been more scientifically edited, and a host of monographs, as well as more comprehensive studies, have corrected and augmented our previous knowledge. The purpose of this article is to give a critical, though brief, résumé of the more important contributions of the last six years.<sup>1</sup>

The great Weimar edition of Luther's complete works has now brought their publication down to the year 1533, though with a few omissions. This great work was begun in 1883 by Dr. J. K. F. Knaake, who edited several of the most important parts himself. The magnitude of the under-

<sup>22</sup> *Papacy and Church Reform*, I, 123.

<sup>1</sup> Complete bibliographies, through 1905, both of books and articles, may be found in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, 1904, Pt. II, pp. 478 ff., and Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, 1905, Pt. II, pp. 321 ff. After 1905 reviews in periodicals must be relied on. Cf. G. Kawerau, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Lutherforschung," in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Hefte 3 und 4, April und Juli, 1908.

taking compelled him to seek associate editors, and in 1892 the presidency of the board thus formed passed from his hands into those of Professor Paul Pietsch, of the University of Berlin. In 1906 Pietsch resigned in favor of his colleague, Professor K. Drescher, the present editor-in-chief.

In Parts II (1907) and III (1905) of Vol. X, Koffmane and Buchwald edit material of the year 1522, including sermons and the "Letter against Henry VIII" (Part II, pp. 175-222), of which the bibliography is valuable (*ibid.*, pp. 504 ff.). Part I of this volume has not yet appeared. It is to contain the pamphlet against the peasants, perhaps the most important work not yet included in this series. Vol. XVII, Part I (edited by Buchwald and Koffmane, 1907), contains sermons of the year 1525, including the well-known one on marriage (p. 12). Vol. XVIII (1908) also contains works of 1525.

More important, as bringing to light some hitherto unpublished sources, are Vols. XXVII (1903), XXVIII (1903), XXIX (1904), XXXII (1906), XXXIII (1907), XXXIV, Part I (1908) and the German Bible, Vol. I (unnumbered, 1906). These volumes contain a series of sermons and lectures, for the most part previously inedited, running from 1529 to 1532. Although much of the biographical material they impart is of rather a trivial nature, occasionally an important fact comes to light, as, for example, that Luther once visited Cologne and saw the holy relics. The editors, in the endeavor to secure all the manuscript material possible, wrote to over a thousand libraries in Germany and other countries. Their brilliant success may be seen both in these volumes and in Koffmane's little book, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung D. M. Luthers*,<sup>2</sup> which gives an account of the material still awaiting publication. Even this effort, however, has been blamed as not sufficiently thorough.<sup>3</sup>

The task of editing the German Bible was intrusted to Pietsch, who brought out the first volume just after his retirement from the position of editor-in-chief. Instead of reprinting the old edition, he has published Luther's own manuscript from a newly discovered *fonds*. From this we can see the extreme care of the translator, who polished and revised with untiring zeal. The marginal notes, which Luther wrote but did not print, are here reproduced. They instruct us in the scientific helps he used, and occasionally give a little exegesis. Like most of Luther's commentaries, these notes are very subjective. Highly characteristic is his

<sup>2</sup> Liegnitz, 1907. These new discoveries consist chiefly of notes of lectures, sermons, and table talk, taken down by Röer and Cruciger. The most important single find, Röer's table talk, is mentioned below.

<sup>3</sup> By Köhler in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, June 20, 1908.

remark on the thirty-eighth chapter of Job, in which the Lord asks that saint to explain the miracles of the creation. "Aristotle knows it all," comments Luther, the inveterate enemy of "that heathen."

Another edition of Luther's complete works has just been published by the German Lutherans of America.<sup>4</sup> Wishing to have the writings all in German, suitable to the convenient use of their public, the editors republished Walch's German edition of the *Sämmlliche Werke* (Halle, 1740-44), revising it by means of subsequent publications. For example the letters (Vols. XXIII, 1902, and XXIV, 1903), of which Walch gives only a portion, poorly translated, are retranslated and supplemented by the letters of Luther since published, together with the most important of those written to him. Kawerau has compared them with the originals and finds the translation well done. On the other hand, the volume containing the table talk (XXII, 1887) is rather disappointing to me. The sources published at that time, with which the editors attempted to correct Walch's faulty work, were too scanty and unreliable to permit of much improvement on the original.

The "Ninety-five Theses," together with the "Resolutions" defending them, and the literature of the controversy they excited between their author and Wimpina, Tetzl, Eck, and Prierias, have been republished in an excellent little edition, with explanatory comments, by the well-known scholar, Professor W. Köhler.<sup>5</sup>

Another important source, recently republished, is the life of Luther by his disciple Mathesius, known as the "Luther Histories."<sup>6</sup> The editor is G. Lösche, who has written a biography of Mathesius, and published, under the title *Analecta Lutherana et Melanchthonia* (1892), a fragmentary copy of the long-lost collection of table talk, known to have been made by Mathesius.

The publication of the letters, by Enders, has been brought down, in the eleventh volume, to August, 1538. Vol. IX and X appeared in 1903, after which there was a long pause, due to the failing health of the editor, who died July 14, 1906. Vol. XI was printed posthumously by G. Kawerau. It is greatly to be hoped that this work will be continued, unless the previous publication of the letters in the Weimar series should

<sup>4</sup> *Luthers Sämmlliche Werke*. Herausgegeben von Walch. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag.

<sup>5</sup> *Luthers 95 Thesen, samt seinen Resolutionen*, u. s. w. Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mathesius, *Historie von D. M. Luther, Anjang, Lehr, Leben und Sterben*. Prag, 1906 (Second Edition).

render it superfluous.<sup>7</sup> As it now is, the study of the letters is rendered vexatious by the fact that they are so much scattered. For those not contained in Enders, i. e., subsequent to 1538, one must first consult the edition of De Wette (1825-28), then the two supplements by Seidemann (De Wette-Seidemann, Vol. VI, 1856, and *Luthers Briefe*, 1859), one by Burkhardt (*Luthers Briefwechsel*, 1866) and one by Kolde (*Analecta Lutherana*, 1882). Each supplement makes corrections on preceding ones, besides printing additional letters, so that often all must be consulted for a single reference. Enders is much more convenient than any of them, and affords fuller and more scientific notes, but he is not without his faults. The worst of these is that he does not reprint the German letters already published in the Erlangen edition (Vols. LIII-LVI, 1853-54), of which his labors form a part. Enders calendars and annotates them, but for the text one must consult the previous volumes of the Erlangen edition, or De Wette.

The table talk has long been known in the German collection of Auri-faber (1566) and the Latin collection of Lauterbach (printed by Rebenstock 1571, and by Bindseil, in a different form, 1863-66), but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the original notes which had served as sources for these collections were discovered and in part published. Seidemann was the first to print one of these notebooks, the excellence of which he recognized as a historical source, for the notes were not only in much more accurate form than that in which they reappeared in the later collections but were set down in a chronological order which was afterward lost. His publication of Lauterbach's *Tagebuch von 1538* (1872) was followed by the printing of notes of Schlaginhaufen (edited by Preger, 1888) and of Cordatus (edited by Wrampelmeyer, 1882) and of Mathesius (edited by Lösche, 1892) though these last were in a much garbled and abbreviated form. In 1903 E. Kroker, archivist in the Leipzig Library, found and edited a manuscript containing notes which almost equal in quantity, and surpass in quality, any of the previously published notebooks.<sup>8</sup> This was the Mathesian collection, containing a large quantity of material taken down by Mathesius himself in 1540,

<sup>7</sup> Kawerau expresses the confident hope in the introduction to Vol. XI, that the work will go on. In the article above mentioned, "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Lutherforschung," Part I, he says that financial considerations render this doubtful. The publishers of the Weimar edition (Hermann Bohlhaus, Nachfolger) informed me more than a year ago that work had been seriously begun upon the letters.

<sup>8</sup> *Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*. Herausgegeben von E. Kroker, Leipzig, 1903.

together with notes of other guests from the years 1531 to 1537, 1539, and 1541 to 1543. All the sayings can be approximately dated, and all are in the original form which contrasts so favorably with the altered and polished state in which some of them reappear in the later collections. A flood of light is thrown by this book, not only on the private life of the reformer, but also on events of a public nature, such as the affair of Philip of Hesse's bigamy. The editing is admirable; Kroker's introduction, with its wide survey and comparison of the manuscripts, has done more to put the study of the table talk on a scientific foundation than anything since the valuable researches of W. Meyer.<sup>9</sup>

Another addition to the stock of table talk in print, though one of vastly less value, is the publication by Wrampelmeyer of some further notes of Cordatus. As just mentioned, he had already published one notebook of this reporter. In the present instance he brings to light a small selection from a manuscript containing copies of Cordatus' notes made by a certain Sebastian Redlich in the year 1547.<sup>10</sup> The worthy editor has fallen in love with Cordatus, whose value as a reporter he much overestimates. Aggrieved by the attacks on Cordatus' reliability made by Preger and Kroker, he takes occasion in the preface of his second publication to assert his unshaken confidence in the value of his first.

Two manuscripts containing table talk have recently been found. One of these with the collection of Rörer<sup>11</sup> should prove extremely valuable. Rörer was with his master most of the time from 1522 to 1546, and is mentioned as a reporter of table talk by both Aurifaber and Mathesius. He began taking notes as early as 1527<sup>12</sup> four years before the earliest sayings reported by any other source. Knowing how careful he was in taking down sermons and lectures, it is natural to suppose that he exercised a like conscientious diligence in transcribing the table talk. The other manuscript is only ten pages long, and of comparatively little importance. It goes back to the reports of Ludwig Rabe,<sup>13</sup> of whom Luther speaks as

<sup>9</sup> W. Meyer aus Speyer, "Lauterbachs und Aurifabers Sammlungen der Tischreden Luthers," *Abhandlungen d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Neue Folge, Band I, Nr. 2, 1897. For a review of the whole subject of the table talk see P. Smith, *Luther's Table Talk*, 1907.

<sup>10</sup> H. Wrampelmeyer, "Tischreden Dr. Martin Luthers aus einer Sammlung des Dr. C. Cordatus. Nach der Berliner Handschrift des Sebastian Redlich," *Festschrift des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Clausthal*, 1905.

<sup>11</sup> Koffmane, *op. cit.*, pp. xviii ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jacobs, article "Rörer" in *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliographie*, *Nachtrag von 1907*.

<sup>13</sup> Köstlin-Kawerau, *Martin Luther*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 479, note 2.

a guest in July, 1535.<sup>14</sup> We might infer, therefore, that his notes fell at this time, or else in May, 1532, when Schlaginhaufen speaks of getting a saying from him.<sup>15</sup> So far as I know no steps have been taken to bring either of these manuscripts to the press. If they do not appear in separate form, we may doubtless expect them in the last volume of the Weimar edition, which is to be devoted to the *Tischreden*. In the meantime they will be used by scholars, and the results incorporated in secondary works, as has been done in the case of Dietrich's table talk, which has long been known but never edited.

Turning from the sources to later works, we must first notice the new edition of Köstlin's monumental, *Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften*. Here we have a book which has grown up in a way analogous to that in which Professor Murray would have us believe the *Iliad* was composed, the work, in short, of a school rather than a man. The small biography of 1876 was attacked with gentleness by Seidemann and with asperity by Knaake. Benefiting by the animadversions of these critics, the author issued a very much improved and enlarged second edition in 1883. Continuing to profit by the labors of other scholars, Köstlin issued his work in a third edition in 1889, and a fourth in 1897, revising and enlarging each time. In 1902 the author published his short life of Luther in the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.<sup>16</sup> He then began another revision of his great work, but did not live to accomplish it.

The pen which dropped from his hand was taken up by Gustav Kawerau, at present Oberkonsistorialrat in Berlin, and undoubtedly the leading Luther scholar of today. As one of the Weimar editors, as the editor of Jonas' Letters, as the assistant of Enders and of Wrampelmeyer, and the author of numerous articles and monographs of great value, he brought to the revision of Köstlin a vast amount of new knowledge. The work is changed in literally thousands of details. How important some of these changes are may be seen, for example, in the pages relating to the reporters of the table talk.<sup>17</sup> The identity of reputed note-takers has been

<sup>14</sup> De Wette, *D. M. Luthers Briefe*, Berlin, 1825-28, Vol. IV p. 614.

<sup>15</sup> *Tischreden Luthers nach den Aufzeichnungen von J. Schlaginhaufen*. Herausgegeben von W. Preger, Leipzig, 1888, No. 342.

<sup>16</sup> Begründet von J. J. Herzog. Dritte Auflage von A. Hauck. Vol. XII, 1902. Since then eight more volumes of this work, which is indispensable to the student of the Reformation, have appeared, almost completing it. Vol. XX, 1907, to "W."

<sup>17</sup> New edition, Vol. II, pp. 479-81; edition of 1883 (which was but little changed later), Vol. II, pp. 487, 488.

established, and new names added from recently discovered manuscripts. So rapid, however, is the march of historical discovery, that even these pages must now be revised. Kawerau includes Obenander among those who took notes of the table talk; the researches of Kroker seem to show that this student merely copied the collection made by Dietrich.<sup>18</sup> Another good example, showing the value of the revision, is seen in the careful survey of Luther's studies as Sententiarius, taken from his marginal notes on St. Augustine and the Sentences, from volumes which had just been discovered.<sup>19</sup>

*Luther und Lutherthum* (Mainz, Vol. I, Part I, 1904; Part II, 1906), by the great Catholic scholar Denifle, is only second in importance to the work just mentioned, as a comprehensive biographical study. Properly it is not a biography at all, but a rather formless aggregate of essays on different phases of the subject. The author begins (Vol. I, Part I, pp. 27-54), by offering a number of criticisms on the work of the Weimar editors, a task he performs in no very charitable spirit. In spite of the fact that the editors had themselves printed a large number of errata for the first eight volumes in the ninth, Denifle discovered a quantity of additional mistakes. He particularly objected that many of Luther's citations from and allusions to mediaeval authors had been left unidentified. As his reading in this field is remarkably wide, he was able to supply many such oversights, although he tells us that he took only two days to it. This is his chief contribution to the subject; the rest of his book is a scientific and hackneyed attempt to blacken Luther's character, with especial emphasis on his "drunkenness" and an appeal to modern criminologists to prove that the physiognomy of the reformer, as we see it in his pictures, belongs to the "criminal type." Denifle intended to devote a second volume to the easy task of proving the worthlessness of the table talk as a historical source, but died shortly after the appearance of the first part of the first volume. The second part of this volume was published posthumously by Father Weiss, a monk of Denifle's order.

No less than three disciples have written supplements to *Luther und Lutherthum*. The most important of these, *Luther-Psychologie als Schlüssel zur Luther-Legende*, by A. M. Weiss (Mainz, 1906), develops an idea suggested by the master. The book and its children have started a swarm of controversial articles which have been buzzing in the German periodicals from the day of the first publication to the present time. Walther, whose

<sup>18</sup> E. Kroker, *op. cit.*, Einleitung, pp. 46-48.

<sup>19</sup> Köstlin-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp: 89, 90. The marginal notes in the Weimar edition, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.



hand was already practiced by his championship of the evangelic cause against Janssen many years previous, has taken a conspicuous part in the turmoil.<sup>20</sup> Denifle's work has been utilized by a French professor, L. Christiani, in a volume called *Luther et le Lutheranisme* (Paris, 1909). This is in general a mere summary and adaptation of Denifle, though the author adds some researches of his own which are generally inaccurate, as his citation of Melancthon's Greek letter on Luther's marriage from the faulty and damaging translation made by Kirsch (p. 113).

Ludwig Pastor has shown himself scarcely less learned and far more readable as a protagonist of the church than his ally, Denifle. The most recent volumes of his widely known *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* contain an interesting and well-documented, if somewhat biased, account of the "Wittenberg professor." Especially excellent, perhaps, is the narrative of Luther's correspondence with Henry VIII.<sup>21</sup> They have been just translated into English under the supervision of Dr. Ralph Kerr.

While writing his own history, Pastor has at the same time been editing a series of supplements to the celebrated *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, by his late friend, Janssen. The most important of these, *Die deutschen Dominicaner im Kampf gegen Luther*, by N. Paulus, was suggested by the idea of supplying the Catholics with a counterpart to the *Corpus Reformationum* of the Protestants.<sup>22</sup>

Among the numerous monographs dealing with special points in Luther's life, space will permit us to speak of but a few. Some of them, such as Kalkoff's excellent *Aleander gegen Luther* (Leipzig, 1908) deal with some contemporary with whom the reformer came into contact. Especially must be mentioned K. Müller's *Luther und Karlstadt* (Tübingen, 1907), in which a great deal of unpublished manuscript has been utilized, and some startling conclusions are reached. One feels, I think, that Luther was unfair to his colleague, and that his view has been too unquestioningly accepted by partisan biographers. Here we are glad to see that Carlstadt has at last found a defender, even if the apologist seems to go a little too far at times.

<sup>20</sup> Walther, *Für Luther wider Rom*, Halle, 1906. How considerable is the quantity of articles on the subject may be seen in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Vol. XXVII, I, Part II, pp. 502-4.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. IV, Part I, 1906, pp. 596 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Five volumes of these supplements have appeared at Freiburg in Breslau, 1903-7. They consist chiefly of republication of sources illustrating Janssen's work, and only occasionally throw side lights on Luther.

Ernst Kroker has turned his publication of the table talk to good account by giving us the best account we have of "*Katharina von Bora* (Leipzig, 1906). The author has made a careful study, fertile in results, of the family and early life of Luther's wife.

Among the treatises which take up some particular event in Luther's life must be mentioned *Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen* (Marburg, 1904) by W. W. Rockwell. Prior to this contribution, we had to depend chiefly on the *Briefwechsel des Landgrafen Philipp*, edited by Professor Max Lenz (Marburg, 1883). This, indeed, is tolerably adequate, but must now be supplemented by the additional material printed by Rockwell, which, being exhaustive, makes it now possible to form a thoroughly sound judgment of the transaction and of Luther's part in it. Rockwell's thesis is criticized by Brieger, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Band XXIX, p. 174 (1908), and briefly defended by Küch, *ibid.*, p. 403.

Of works published in English the most outstanding is *The History of the Reformation*, by Dr. T. M. Lindsay (Edinburgh, 1906, 1907). All those who knew his little *Luther and the German Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1900) were prepared to give a warm welcome to the later and larger work. It is now too well known to need comment. It has the advantage of putting Luther in the setting of his age and environment better than any other English book. The treatment of the Anabaptists and Socinians in the second volume is almost the only fair and scholarly one in existence. The part treating Luther, who is given deserved prominence, shows the results of painstaking research presented in a delightful style. I have personally verified almost every fact stated in this section, and can testify that the slips are both few and unimportant.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Such as the following: Vol. I, 155, *Die deutsche Theologie* is referred to as one of the publications of the German mystics; this is a little misleading, as it was really first published by Luther from an old manuscript. P. 197, Luther is said to have learned Greek at Erfurt; cf. Köstlin-Kawerau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 76; incidentally Lindsay does not speak of this, the last and best edition of Köstlin, whom he knows only in the now superseded edition of 1889. P. 249, "Gehobelter Eck" is translated "Eck with the swelled head;" is it not rather "Eck (i. e., corner) planed off," the "Eccius Dedolatus" of Lindsay's own note? P. 206, Luther's correspondence with Scheurl said to begin 1516; Enders, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 79, first letter given January 1, 1517. More serious, perhaps, are the following errors: The description of Aleander's appearance at the Diet of Worms (p. 280) is incorrect (cf. Kawerau-Köstlin, I, 410; Lindsay's reference to DeWette is wholly irrelevant). The Diet at Nuremberg, 1524, is inadvertently called the Diet of Speyer (p. 322). The statement that at Speyer, 1529, it was agreed "that no ecclesiastical body should be deprived of its authority or revenues" is incorrect. This was proposed but not agreed to. Instead the Diet substituted the provision "that no prince should take the subjects of another state into his protection" (cf. Kawerau-Köstlin, Vol. II, p. 118).

It is a little strange, considering the popularity that Luther's table talk has long enjoyed in English, that no attempt to translate any considerable portion of his letters was made prior to 1908. Such a book we at last possess, though in an unfortunately inadequate form.<sup>24</sup> Meticulous care has been taken, by selection and omission, to avoid anything which might damage Luther's character. By this means he suffers not only softening but emasculation, and a very one-sided impression is given. The translation, too, is inaccurate, and the acquaintance shown by the translator with contemporary events is extremely slight.

PRESERVED SMITH

PARIS, FRANCE

<sup>24</sup> *Luther's Letters*, selected and translated by Margaret A. Currie. London and New York, 1908.